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**Bagunção: Music for Social Change in Salvador, Brazil**

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**Bagunção: Music for Social Change in Salvador, Brazil**

**by**

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**Report**

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## **Dedication**

To all the leaders, young and old, that change the world every day:

Speak with your heart, live for your passion, never give up hope.

## **Acknowledgements**

Many individuals contributed to this paper in ways that they may not even realize. First to the faculty at UT Austin: Joseph Straubhaar, my supervisor and professor, who got me hooked on Brazil, a world within the world of the Latin America I already loved. To Karin Wilkins for introducing me to Paolo Freire and social development theory that I had never before encountered. To Mary Kearney, who challenged me to think critically in her Cultural Studies class, and set in motion my interest in alternative media after what was for me a profound reading assignment on Clemencia Rodriguez. To Clara and Fred at ACBEU: You made my on-the-ground research possible and my experience incredible in Salvador. You were my ambassadors and local connection throughout and further enabled me to learn organically through my amazing host mother Helena and outstanding Portuguese instructor Marcelo, both of whom also made a significant impact on me. Thank you to a number of others that gave me time, input, and a listening ear: Silvia, Jossianna, Carlos, Rogerio, Priscilla, Asal. And finally, to all the students and staff at Steve Biko and Bagunçação: You are today's change-makers, tomorrow's leaders, and my inspiration.

## **Abstract**

### **Bagunção: Music for Social Change in Salvador, Brazil**

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The legacy of colonialism has left an impression on Brazil that is still strongly present today, particularly in the city of Salvador, Bahia, and the connection between race and class remains quite conspicuous throughout Brazil in politics, business, and social settings. The 20<sup>th</sup> century saw the rise *blocos afro* as part of an Afro-Brazilian diaspora seeking pride in black identity and positive social change through concrete community-driven projects. This paper focuses on a newer community group, Bagunção, that follows in the footsteps of the *blocos afro* with an increased emphasis on the role of media in the social development process, using music paired with various digital technologies to educate, empower, and connect participants. The report is an ethnographic study based on first person interviews and observation by the author in Salvador, as well on as a biography on Bagunção's founder, Joselito Crispim. The primary findings of the paper are 1) Bagunção serves

to mitigate crime and violence among youth, providing kids with skill-building music, art, and technology activities to engage in during free time. 2) The group also serves a spiritual need of Afro-Brazilians by empowering kids with the context of their situation as part of a diasporic community that can resist oppression and gain upward social traction in a society permeated by historic racial hierarchy. 3) Bagunço transcends national lines with its international partnerships and engages in a digital exchange that is not only technology skill building, but an expansion of kids' perspectives of the world beyond the poor communities that many of them would otherwise only ever know.

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## METHODOLOGY

The method for this project was in three parts: First, I conducted an extensive background literature research period in preparation for a case study. Second, I simultaneously gained Portuguese-language skills by taking an intensive Portuguese for Spanish Speakers course, building on a dozen years of Spanish study. Finally, I traveled to Brazil to conduct IRB-approved ethnographic research following the methodology of James Spradley, who emphasizes first person narratives, life histories, and documentary as uniquely valuable resources. My overarching research question was, “How do Afro-centric music groups in Salvador link music to social action for change in their work on community development?”

To better explain how I chose the theme of music for social change and ultimately a case study on Bagunçação, it is helpful to take a step back. In my undergraduate thesis *Music, Media, and Success: A Costa Rican Perspective* I explored music as a transformative medium not just for those who receive but also for those that create. Upon my graduate studies at the University of Texas at Austin (UT) an opportunity presented itself to me to work with Dr. Joseph Straubhaar, who has spent the last thirty years of research on media in Brazil. I shifted my focus from Spanish-speaking Latin America to Lusophone Brazil for a number of reasons including its vibrant music scene and its position as a global media producer (e.g., Brazilian soap operas). In my Literature Review stage, guided by my second reader

Dr. Karin Wilkins, I studied theory on communication for social change and participatory development, recognizing that *communities* often have more power to spark change than individuals.

After the background research and language tools preparation phase, I spent six weeks in Salvador da Bahia, Brazil, to take more advanced Portuguese classes through a University of Texas affiliated program, ACBEU, and engage in service learning by working with several community groups in the city. When I arrived in Brazil my final report ideas included a focused study on the women's drumming group Didá or a comparative study on Afro-centric groups such as Olodum and Ilé Aiyé. Through classes at ACBEU, guidance from my Brazilian instructors, and time spent with my host family I gained valuable insights on Brazilian culture, life in Salvador, and the struggles of inequality that I sought to address in this study. ACBEU connections gave me the opportunity to visit and interview Ilé Aiyé in the neighborhood of Liberdade, and it was also through connections at ACBEU leadership that I learned about Bagunçaço. I integrated my Portuguese course work at ACBEU and our numerous field trips into my initial ethnographic research. In Spradley's terms, I was casing various scenes, which helped me decide where to focus my attention. When I learned about Bagunçaço, I realized that it most closely presented the kind of case I wanted to work on, providing insight on my research question about how Afro-centric music groups are using music and media as part of social change. Bagunçaço builds on the approaches and experiences of earlier Afro-

centric music groups, and I found the group particularly interesting because they have received relatively little attention by academic research.

My final ethnographic focus on Bagunção culminated with a site visit to their campus for a day, in which I took notes on their physical location and engaged with the group's kids and leaders for a first-person perspective of the project. Throughout my day, I took notes, recorded conversations, and spoke with staff members asking various questions on media, music, and the kids' engagement in an informal, conversational style (as a formal interview would have been inappropriate in this context). The kids themselves were extremely helpful, inviting me and other colleagues to learn percussion rhythms on their recycled-tin drum sets, move around with a capoeira lesson (a traditional martial arts type dance accompanied by music), and eat lunch with them in their cafeteria.

In addition to this site visit, I conducted a number of personal interviews to gain deeper insights on music and media in Salvador. I recruited participants by word of mouth, as my studies at ACBEU gave me opportunities to talk and socialize with various members of the Salvador community. My interview process was guided by the IRB questions found in Appendix A. These questions centered on media use, resources, current music projects, leadership organization, and strategies for success. The questions were available in both English and Portuguese so that we could have our discussion in whichever language was most comfortable for the

interviewee. The meetings took place at a central location, such as a coffee shop, and lasted approximately one hour during which time I took notes.

When conducting an interview, I approached my questions in a open-ended, conversational manner. I would start with a general leading question; e.g., How do you get the word out about your community projects? In this example, I was trying to learn about media usage (e.g., online channels, traditional print or radio), organizational patterns (e.g., if they have a PR spokesperson), and community ecosystem (e.g., word of mouth). I let the interviewee do the majority of the talking and only interjected if I wanted more detail or clarification. Another example of a general question is: How do you gain funding for your projects? My objective with these questions was to let the interviewee respond with as few prompts from me as possible so that I could see what was important from the interviewee's perspective.

Though data from most of these interviews was not directly used for this report, several of the interviewees pointed me to supplemental material. For example, an ACBEU assistant program director Silvia Lorenzo Castro, an Afro-Bahian herself, pointed out that it was imperative that I include theory from Michael Hanchard, author of *Orpheus and Power*. His work on twentieth century music movements in Brazil reveal a critical perspective of how music empowered Afro-Brazilians in a fight for social and political recognition and equality. I integrated his work in my studies, and can attest that my Literature Review would not have been sufficient without his works.

I also had an invaluable asset in the book *Bagunção* written by founder Joselito Crispim, upon which this report is based. I learned about this book when researching Bagunção online prior to my site visit, and was able to obtain a copy through ACBEU. In *Learning from Strangers*, Robert Weiss aptly notes, that “what concrete case studies of individuals do superbly is make the reader aware of the respondents’ experience within the context of their lives” (Weiss in “Course Packet” 246). Crispim’s life story is written first person, in Portuguese, drawing from his earliest memories and providing the personal insight, history, and inspirations that led to Bagunção. I supplemented this text with information gathered from Websites, YouTube videos, and blog entries, coming from the perspective I gained during my six weeks in Salvador and my site visit to Bagunção.

Although my time with Bagunção was limited, I felt that I made a solid decision to focus on that particular group due to its accessibility, the availability of unique first person written documentation, and because it had not yet been written up in English, unlike some of the other groups. My hopes is that this study can pave the way to further research on Bagunção and other successful examples of music for social change in Brazil.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

### Introduction

The legacy of colonialism has left an impression on Brazil that is still strongly present today, particularly in the city of Salvador, Bahia. Though equal rights for all have long since been written into law, the connection between race and class remains quite conspicuous throughout Brazil in politics, business, and social settings. Nonwhite Brazilians continue to be associated with and subject to poverty and marginalization and excluded from opportunities of higher education and social mobility, and the blacker one is the more likely he or she is to fall in this category (Struabhaar 3).

To counter the status quo and advocate for social justice, music groups called *blocos afro* arose in the mid-twentieth century emphasizing pride in black identity as embodied through dance and music. Starting in the 1990s, the *blocos afro* began to be more explicitly geared toward youth with an extended agenda of empowerment through skill acquisition, formalized education, and community participation (Straubhaar 3). Today, many of Salvador's most established *blocos afro*, such as Ilê Aiyê and Olodum, continue to have significant impact on social development within the community. Additionally, many smaller, lesser-known grassroots music organizations, educational groups, and NGOs of similar intent have sprung up throughout the *barrios* of Salvador's sprawling city of 2.5 million.

The objective of this paper is to focus on a newer community group, Bagunção, that follows in the footsteps of the *blocos afro* with an increased emphasis on the role of media in the social development process, using various digital technologies to educate, empower, and connect participants. Bagunção was established in 1991 in the Alagados area of Salvador in the low-income neighborhoods of Uruguai, Jardim Cruzeiro, and Massaranduba by resident and educator Joselito Crispim who saw a need for kids to be involved in something positive, an alternative to being on the streets and involved in drugs and crime. Today, the Bagunção serves more than 200 kids at its facilities in the Uruguai community, providing kids with opportunities to gain computer and Internet skills, receive tutoring and educational classes, and create, participate, and collaborate in music, dance, and media activities (“Blog”).

Before directly reporting on Bagunção, I will provide the following: 1) a historical account of Bahia’s *blocos afro* in order to understand the foundation upon which Bagunção lies, 2) an overview of relevant social development theory, and 3) their connections to my overview and analysis of Bagunção.

To preface the study, I must emphasize that the historical context I provide is by no means an exhaustive look at the many factors of Brazilian post-colonial history and twentieth century socio-political climate that directly impact Salvador’s *blocos afro*. This will allow me to dedicate the majority of this report to Bagunção’s history and that of its founder Joselito Crispim and to give an overview of the

group's current projects with observations that link social development and media theory to the group. In the process, I will reference many studies of Brazilian culture, Bahian music and social projects, and academic interpretations that lend insight to issues at stake for Bagunço. The hope is that this specific research, gathered first-hand during a six-week stay in Salvador summer 2012, can be used in a larger context in current studies apposite to areas of academic inquiry such as Afro-Brazilian identity, social change, and digital inclusion.

### **Historical Overview**

Salvador, located in the northeastern littoral province of Bahia, was the first slave port of the Americas, settled by the Portuguese in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Four-fifths of today's population is Afro-Brazilian, with ancestry from the Gulf of Benin, Angola, and Mozambique (Moura in Dunn 2001, p. 163). In *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won: Afro-Brazilians in Post-Abolition, São Paulo and Salvador*, Kim Butler characterizes descendants of African slaves as "dynamic historical actors" rather than hapless victims of white objectives (9). Post-abolition Brazil, particularly of the late 1800s to the early 1900s, was a time of redefining identity and reshaping roles in society. "Physical Africa may have been forever lost to them, yet they had bridged time and space to shape, in the twentieth century, lives informed by African cultures and sensibilities in the heart of the Americas" (Butler 1). From this perspective, Salvador can be seen as a diasporic community, or as an Andersonian "imagined community"



as contextualized by Karim Karim in his 2010 article “‘National’ in International Communication: Through the Lens of Diaspora.” Afro-Bahian songs allude to the “diverse histories and cultures of the African continent, as well as to the struggle for equality for blacks in Brazil” (Dunn, 1992 p. 12). In *Orpheus and Power*, Michael Hanchard presents the term *Afro-Brazilian* as a result of this 1970s widespread attention to an African diaspora, both in raising racial consciousness among blacks and making this identification intensely more political around the world (24). The group Ilê Aiyê that emerged in 1975 envisioned a “rustic, heroic Africa,” (Moura in Dunn 2001, p. 167) while the *bloco afro* Olodum harkened back to an imagined black Egypt in their 1989 theme song “Faraó “ (in Dunn 2001, p. 168). Many such analyses of a Bahian treatment of the African diaspora manifested in song can be found in works such as Bryan McCann’s *Hello, Hello Brazil: Popular Music in the Making of Modern Brazil*, aforementioned articles by Moura and Dunn in *Brazilian Popular Music and Globalization*, edited by Charles A. Perrone and Christopher Dunn, as well as Portuguese-language studies by Luis Americo Lisboa Junior (*A Presença da Bahia Na Música Popular Brasileira*), Goli Guerreiro (*A Trama Dos Tambores: A Música Afro-Pop de Salvador*), and José Ramos Tinhorão (*História Social da Música Popular Brasileira*). According to Antonio J.V. dos Santos, music of the Africa diaspora exists without borders, operating with “multiple global positions” (in Dunn 2001, p. 210-211). Likewise, Pierce Armstrong cites four themes of the *bloco afro* Olodum: 1) a general pan-Africanism 2) a reactive Afrocentrism 3) a mainstream African-

American rights orientation, and 4) Brazilian *baianidade* (the Bahian regional version of Brazilian Afro-Euro-indigenous mixing) (Armstrong in Dunn 2001, p. 189).

In addition to an African diasporic perspective of Salvador, it is necessary to consider the fallacious characterization of Brazil as a racial democracy. In “The Sounds of Blackness: Bahian Blocos Afro and the Musical Imagination of Race,” Krista Kateneva provides a thorough history of this ideological construction pursued through both progressive intellectual thought and national policy. In the 1930s, Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre celebrated Brazil’s African heritage and praised the exceptionalism of Brazil in race relations and race mixing, claiming that all races had come to a mutual understanding (Kateneva 22-23). Born out of positivism and social Darwinism<sup>1</sup>, the myth of racial democracy posed Brazil as free from the racial tensions of other countries, such as the United States, where Freyre obtained his PhD in Anthropology, and where he observed a legal segregation of races that he contrasted to the informality and race mixing of Brazil (Hanchard 9). Rather than a black/white dichotomy, skin color was, and still is, seen in Brazil as a spectrum of racial and social hierarchy (Butler 23).

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<sup>1</sup> The ideas of scientific racism and of the *mestizaje* dominated racial ideas in Neocolonial Latin America during this period. Scientific racism was guided by the French philosophy of positivism, a “science of society” influenced by Darwinism in its application to social life (Guridy 22 February). In pursuit of order and progress, advocates of positivism—primarily the liberal Euro-Creole elite and Mexican government intellectuals known as *los científicos*—used this kind of thinking to perpetuate Euro-centric thought that justified a continued rule and social hegemony by those of European descent as well as a *blancamiento* or “whitening” of races (Chasteen 195; Guridy 6 March).

The idea of miscegenation was forced to the central position of post-abolition thought by Freyre, reacting to a previous intellectual regime of scientific racism that denounced the race mixing that had taken place in Brazil. However, this idealization of race mixing was undermined by a national attempt at whitening through strategic immigration policy that was implemented even before the end of slavery in the late nineteenth and continuing into the early twentieth centuries, in which massive European immigration to Brazil was encouraged (Kateneva 20). An 1890 national immigration decree excluded Africans and Asians from freely entering Brazil and was enforced until 1902 (Hanchard 53). Even with the slave to wage-holding economic base shift, freed blacks were still effectively disqualified from competing in the “open” market due to state-enforced policies (Hanchard 17). Later, the violent military dictatorship of the 1960s and seventies suppressed racially charged political movements (Katenava 24). It was not until after the military regime left power in 1984 that social movements were able to resurge in full form, and activists and authors of the latter half of the twentieth century, such as Michael Hanchard and Thomas E. Skidmore, began to openly challenge the myth of Brazil as a racial democracy.

Despite structural limitations of racial movements, music as a means of empowerment increased after the 1930s, when Getúlio Vargas embraced samba as the national music to reinforce national identity (McCann 8). In “Afro-Bahian Carnival: A Stage for Protest,” Christopher Dunn examines the Afro-Bahian *afoxé*

carnival groups of the 1940s-60s that precipitated the formation of *blocos afro* including Ilê Aiyê and Olodum (Dunn 1992). In “Overview of the Bahian Carnival,” Moura provides a significant amount of background information on those groups as well as their carnival predecessor Filhos de Gandhi, formed in the early 1950s. The global climate that influenced the shaping of *blocos afro* was widespread, ranging from the pacifism of Mahatma Gandhi in the 1940s to the mobilization of black pride and civil rights in the US in the 1960s (Moura in Dunn 2001, p. 165-166).

In terms of musical style, Jamaican Rastafarianism of the 1930s and the British cultural industry of the 1960s also contributed to the shaping of *blocos afro* and a particularly distinctive music called *samba-reggae*, pioneered by the group Olodum (dos Santos in Dunn 2001, p. 208). Dos Santos provides us with a rich interpretation of the evolution of *samba-reggae* and its contribution to Bahian diaspora in his article “Reggae and *Samba-Reggae* in Bahia: A Case of Long-Distance Belonging.” Music was essential to both youth-driven social uprisings and the spiritual awakening associated with the Rasta and hippie movement, and *samba-reggae* in Bahia was a phenomenon “engendered by irreverent, black youth cultures, contextualized in new social experiences for which music would be the most fundamental reference” (dos Santos in Dunn 2001, p. 210). Additional descriptions and definitions of the *axé* music which developed from *samba-reggae* and its dissemination through radio can be found in works of Armstrong, dos Santos, and Moura.

Also important in the formation of *blocos afro* is place, in particular the historic central square, known as the Pelourinho in Salvador, which is both physically and symbolically significant. It became the place of Afro-centric gathering, but was named for the original “whipping post” (as the word means) of slaves in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, which was planted in the middle of the square (Armstrong in Dunn 2001, p. 185). Dos Santos notes the continued role the Pelourinho plays as a meeting place today, with the establishment of reggae bars in the 1980s as well as the gathering place for the weekly *festa da benção* (blessing party) that takes place Tuesdays after mass (dos Santos in Dunn 2001, p. 215). That tradition was created by Olodum which played for free there Tuesday nights for a number of years. This notion of place in connection with the *blocos afro* is fundamental in elaborating a text of identity, particularly when Salvador is characterized as a diasporic community (Moura in Dunn 2001, p. 171).

Similarly connected to place is the idea of space, such as religious candomblé houses and samba schools utilized by slaves, freed blacks, and Afro-Brazilians of various socio-economic status as sites of community and resistance (Hanchard 28, 83). The places where *blocos afro* perform, such as the Pelourinho or performance spaces in a number of neighborhoods, and the spaces where education takes place for these groups is tantamount to the awareness and transformations sought in the lives of individuals and communities they serve.

From the history and formation of Salvador's *blocos afro* we can see two salient themes that they pursued, as pointed out in Joseph Straubhaar's paper "Race, Identity, Drumming, and Digital Inclusion in Salvador, Bahia": 1) consciousness and pride and black identity and 2) social justice within the community (Straubhaar 21). This is achieved not just through lyrics, but through direct involvement which fosters a sense of belonging, skill building, and empowerment (Straubhaar 2, 5). Olodum, for example, for a number of years met in the Pelourinho on Sundays where individuals could present songs for possible selection for Carnival inclusion, all selected by "popular reaction" (Armstrong in Dunn 2001, p. 182).

In the last two decades of the twentieth century and continuing on today, we can observe concrete projects that *blocos afro* are engaged in beyond performance and carnival participation. Olodum publishes a tri-monthly newspaper and produces a weekly radio program, Afro-Brazilian seminars, a theater group, and children's workshops (Dunn 16; Straubhaar 17). Ilê Aiyê focuses on youth education, running a formal elementary school in Salvador as well as a professional music school (Lima in Dunn 2001, p. 223; Straubhaar 16-17). They also offer classes in dance, language, Afro-Brazilian history, and computer skills (Site Visit, 6 July 2012). The *bloco afro* Timbalada led by musician Carlinhos Brown also has a professional music school, a music school for children, and is involved in a number of community development projects, such as paving roads and painting houses (Lima in Dunn 2001, p. 226, Straubhaar 9, 19, 20). And Didá, an all-women's *bloco*

*afro* founded by the late Olodum leader Neguinho da Samba, trains and empowers women through music (Straubhaar 23-24). This case study Bagunção builds on these traditions and experiences. Through its music and school facility, Bagunção educates over 200 kids on a regular basis and impacts 1800 in the process, which will be discussed in detail in the body of this report.

The trajectories of these music groups imply media and technology access, knowledge, and skill that are of increasing significance as the groups grow and expand. Straubhaar has dedicated much of his research to a Brazilian discourse of social inclusion through digital inclusion, to deal with the risk of racial exclusion being compounded by digital exclusion. A lack of computer skills, for example, can be seen as a threat to the ability to compete in an information-based economy (Straubhaar 22). In terms of the *blocos afro* and community groups, Internet skills are particularly important for tasks such as arranging international touring and staying in contact with donors (Straubhaar 23).

## **Theoretical Perspective**

Several approaches to social change theory impact this study including the use of music for social development, the concept of radical media, the connection between music and social movements, ideas of race and racial consciousness, and the praxis of social entrepreneurship. I will look at these concepts through the lens of participatory communication, a development paradigm that emerged in the

1980s in the wake of post WWII modernization-diffusion theory and dependency theories that dominated the 1970s (McAnany 86).

In participatory communication, people are the agents of change more so than governments or other top-down authorities. Objects of development and social change can vary a great deal, and in this paradigm participation may lead to a “process of community interaction and decision making without the need to show any external outcome for the community, and, indeed, the process is more important than the outcome” (McAnany 99). This *process over product* perspective echoes Paulo Freire’s influential pedagogical approach to development in his 1968 *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* in which literacy and educational engagement were achieved through dialogue rather than traditional, one-way teacher-student education. In Freire’s view, participation is “dynamic, interactional, and transformative” (Papa et. al 164). As we will see in the report section, Bagunção is a participant-led program that started as a grassroots project using music and performance as a way to draw youth into more focused programs of education and job skill building. Furthermore, this music and media combination utilizes these tenets of participatory development to facilitate pride in *Afro-brasileiro* and connect with Afro-diasporic communities in other locations, such as their sister school in Mozambique.

Within participatory communication and development, organizational structure is paramount. Papa et. al define “organizing for social change” as how a



group of individuals “orchestrate their skills, resources, and human potential to gain control of their future” and “enhance their collective power” (37). The authors present a dialectic approach to social change, recognizing its struggles and finding success in its tensions. They model social change as comprised of four elements—contradiction, motion, totality, and praxis—with four central tensions: 1) control and emancipation, 2) oppression and empowerment, 3) dissemination and dialogue, and 4) fragmentation and unity (43). All of these aspects are necessary to balance momentum and stability. It is contradictions, they contend, that represent the basic drivers of social change (260). It is from this perspective that I examine Bagunção—though faced with challenges, whether internal, financial, political, or structural, the groups’ collective energy moves them forward to accomplish meaningful goals.

The use of music by the *blocos afro*, important predecessors of Bagunção, can arguably be seen as radical media, defined by Downing as generally small-scale, often comprised of a minority ethnic or religious group existing within a hegemonic media framework (19). Downing is most concerned with the flow of ideas, the process, and the use of media as “reflexive instruments of communication practices in social networks” (7). Direct involvement in production is key to Downing (18), a characteristic inherent to the way the *blocos afro* create music. This mirrors the way that Clemencia Rodriguez, in her many film for social change projects in Latin America, reconceptualized the impact of alternative media on participants’ sense of

themselves and their potential as human beings (Downing 45). Bagunção, as will be discussed in detail later, uses Internet and TV streaming technology in this way to produce and share content, empowering and transforming kids in the process.

Bagunção and the *blocos afro* function not just as producers of culture, but also as purveyors of social movements. In *Music and Social Movements: Mobilizing Traditions in the Twentieth Century*, Ron Eyerman examines how music and social movements contribute to cultural transformation. The combination of culture and politics, a link very often dismissed, manifests in social movements giving way to identity formation, cognitive praxis, and a collective learning process (7-8). Music is a way of interpreting reality and giving meaning to experience, playing a truth-bearing role in social movements (20, 24). Cultural Studies and African Studies scholar Paul Gilroy claims that, “music, above all, permitted blacks to make alliances, assert themselves, resist, and develop a consciousness in the West” (in Lima 222). And Brazilian author Almerinda Guerreiro makes a similar observation of this transformation: “Music in Brazil has been one of the most important modes of social change of everyday life among residents of poor neighborhoods and favelas” (in Straubhaar 19).

This study cannot be complete without attention to the idea of race. In *Orpheus and Power: The Movimento Negro of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo*, Michael Hanchard contends that race is socially, not biologically, constructed, marking not only phenotypical difference but that of status, class, and political power (14). This

is directly connected to this study, as the *blocos afro* and Bagunção are engaged in a racially-charged struggle for requisite power, which manifests itself in music as well as their social programs. Hanchard maintains that “power relations are grounded in structural processes that correlate and distribute meanings and practices” (14). Through raising “racial consciousness”—that is, knowing where one came from to know where one is—individuals and groups can respond to and work toward balancing asymmetrical power relationships (Hanchard 14). Without this consciousness, nonwhite Brazilians have no way of differentiating racist acts from other forms of oppression (Hanchard 8). According to Hanchard, the inability of many Brazilians to recognize the existence of discrimination, violence, and inequality as directly connected to race is perhaps one of the greatest consequences of historic racial theory on Brazilian thought today (47). “What remains from the previous belief system of racial democracy and earlier notions of racial exceptionalism is the denial of the existence of *ongoing* racial oppression of Afro-Brazilians” (Hanchard 56). Hanchard aptly states that in addition to racially unjust practices in education, labor markets, and popular culture, “Brazilian blacks have been locked in an elliptical pattern of racial oppression, where claims against discriminatory practices are rarely heard and hardly ever addressed by Brazilian elites” (57). Hanchard highlights key elements of this argument, pointing out a continuous reproduction of images of Afro-Brazilians as subject to whites, damaging self-notions, and therefore an aversion to collective action (57). Through

socialization in school (e.g., a lack of inclusion of Afro-Brazilian history), mass media images (e.g., the rich white homeowner and a black housekeeper), and vocational settings (e.g., whites in intellect-based jobs and blacks in wage-labor jobs), black Brazilians are too often depicted as subject to whites, reifying a position of inferiority (Hanchard 60). Hanchard cites numerous studies in which negative socialization can result in internalization of negative self-images in individuals, particularly children, as well as in homes and communities (61).

Hanchard argues that Afro-Brazilians have a lack of collective awareness of themselves as a subordinated racial group (41). It is for this reason that *blocos afro* and groups such as Bagunção are a critical force in countering these negative connotations with black identity and instead fostering a positive image rooted in history and experience.

For activists and others with a heightened racial awareness, there is the triple task of articulating the existence of racial oppression, making other black Brazilians aware of the problems inherent in combating racial oppression while providing avenues of resistance (Hanchard 65).

Activists, such as *bloco afro* leaders or Bagunção educators, recognize the links between racial identification and power and seek to provide avenues of resistance through music, education, and positive community engagement (Hanchard 91).

This discourse connects with another conversation also affecting *blocos afro*, that of *mercantilização* (roughly, mercantilization), similar to the idea of social entrepreneurship. Better defined as a concept than a methodology, this approach to development stems from “social change originating from local people who had innovative ideas about ways to accomplish the change and a care for planning and funding...that helped make the projects sustainable” (McAnany 122). The approach was pioneered in the early 1980s by Muhammad Yunus, a key figure in what would be later termed “microfinance,” with the aim of helping women in a poor village of his home country Bangladesh and the subsequent establishment of the Grameen Bank (McAnany 107). To some, the idea is an oxymoron: “social” problems being solved by its archenemy “entrepreneurship,” representing capitalism in its purest form. However, in his book *Social Entrepreneurship: New Models of Sustainable Social Change*, Alex Nicholls defines the term according to two elements: “a prime strategic focus on social impact and an innovative approach to achieving its mission” (13). McAnany shares a media-centered example in a story of another social entrepreneurship pioneer, Bill Drayton founder of Ashoka, who supports social innovators around the world. A relevant case study is that of Rodrigo Baggio of Rio de Janeiro who created a computer lab in a Rio *favela*. Based on the community's feedback, he enrolled students and taught skills useful for jobs, politics, personal advancement and the like. The project succeeded in its social component (community-defined, with constant feedback and room for change) and

the business aspect (self-sustainable by a low membership fee) (McAnany 109-110). This example reflects the complementary positioning of both participatory communication and social entrepreneurship.

We can see these themes in several *blocos afro* approaches to social change. Traditionally, funding was based on contributions by the community and partnerships with private and government organizations, with the focus primarily on the affirmation of black identity as was the trajectory of Ilê Aiyê (Lima, “Lecture” 6 June 2012). However, the advent of the world music market of the 1980s created a potential global market for music like samba-reggae and prompted several groups to look to the recording industry and cultural tourism as avenues of revenue. Armstrong notes Olodum’s welcome embrace of Spike Lee and Michael Jackson to make the 1996 music video “They Don’t Care About Us” (179), and they also toured with and produced “The Obvious Child” in 1990 with Paul Simon. Money made from touring with Paul Simon enabled Olodum member Neguinho da Samba to buy a building to create his own music school for women and girls in the Pelourinho area. João Jorge Rodrigues, Olodum’s leader, was the first *bloco afro* leader to create a distinct mark or brand for Olodum and spread it commercially (Lima, “Lecture” 6 June 2012). Internationally recognized as a musician, Carlinhos Brown achieved commercial success, represented by a top hit recognized in *Billboard* magazine, and also carved a new prototype as “more musician, less activist” (Lima in Dunn 2001, p. 226 and “Lecture” 6 June 2012). His individual success and self-generated revenue,

as well as his work with the group Timbalada, provided unprecedented means for funding concrete development projects such as schools. Collaborations with celebrities, like in the case of Olodum, can also provide wider awareness and legitimacy in terms of their cause and a wider reach potentially leading to increased profits (see *Brand Aid: Shopping Well to Save the World* by Lisa Ann Richey and Stefano Ponte).

Salvador's *blocos afro* are not immune to the tug of mediated global culture, in fact in many ways they directly fuel it. "With the massification of its image, black culture became more accessible to scattered and heterogeneous constituencies" (Lima in Dunn 2001, p. 224). Dos Santos contends that reggae, which stylistically influenced groups such as Olodum, was a product of the international recording industry (in Dunn 2001, p. 208). However, Straubhaar tempers the criticisms of music for money by noting that, in the eyes of the *blocos afro*, a social entrepreneurship model can bring resources and useful attention back to Salvador (18). Armstrong points out that Olodum, for example, works between the fronts of artistic performance and social activist, supporting 25 paid directors, 100 full-time employees and 400-500 band members, in addition to the aforementioned community projects (in Dunn 2001, p. 180), likely not possible if the organization did not have a business-model guided revenue stream. In the case of Bagunção, music and communications media takes central stage, which has an interesting connection to McAnany's findings that both personal and technological

communication were critical factors in the social change strategies of social entrepreneurs Yunus and Drayton (113).

### **Focus and Questions of This Study**

As mentioned, the body of this study will be focused on the NGO Bagunçação. I will use three primary sources of data: 1) The book *Bagunçação* written by the group's leader, Joselito Crispim, 2) Personal interviews and lectures collected during my time in Salvador summer 2012, and 3) Websites, blogs, and other Internet sources to support my research and demonstrate the reach of Bagunçação. My research questions are as follows: What is the history of Bagunçação? How did they begin, and how did that shape them in to the institution they are today? What is the structure of leadership in Bagunçação? Why did they focus on work with media? What music and television projects does Bagunçação create and share on the Web? Ultimately, why is what they are doing so important?

### **Conclusion to the History and Literature Review**

I have just given a historical overview of Salvador's *blocos afro* as part of a Afro-Brazilian diaspora seeking pride in black identity and positive social change through concrete community-driven projects. I have also connected relevant theoretical perspectives on participatory development, racial consciousness, and social entrepreneurship within a communications framework. This sets the stage



for an in-depth examination of digital inclusion and opportunity as related to Bagunço, contributing to broader themes of social equity within Brazil itself and its global positioning.

## BODY, ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSION

### Introduction

The body of this report is divided into three sections: 1) A detailed overview of the book *Bagunção* written by the group's founder Joselito Crispim. This chronicle of Crispim's life and path to founding Bagunção provides the contextual setting critical to understanding the group today. 2) A report of Bagunção's current projects, both physical and Web-based, with an inclusion of the ideology and organization behind them. 3) A brief evaluation of Bagunção in relation to the theory discussed in the literature review and the significance of Bagunção's projects on individual, community, and national levels.

### Building Foundations: The Life and Path of Joselito Crispim

Joselito Crispim and his twin sister were born in the *terreiro*<sup>2</sup> Tumba do Mar, in Salvador's now non-existent housing area of *barracos-palafitas*<sup>3</sup> in Alagados<sup>4</sup>. His mother, Jove, was brought by boat to Bahia when young to work slave-style, despite being three quarters' century past abolition. His father, Zé, was the youngest of

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<sup>2</sup> A temple of *candomblé*, the Afro-Brazilian religion most prevalent in Salvador.

<sup>3</sup> Stick houses built over the water, in this case over the Bahia de Todos Santos (All Saints' Bay).

<sup>4</sup> *Alagados* means "flooding," and was an area that started in the 1970s with a migration from the interior escaping a drought and looking for work. Originally, the bay was filled with sand by the government to provide a place for the immigrants to live, but when those needing housing exceeded what the state provided, people began to make their own make-shift houses known as *barracos-palafitas* out of trash and scrap material. ("Background")

eight from a poor family. Crispim's grandparents' roots were in the *quilombos*, or freed slave communities.

Growing up, Crispim, his sister, and his two younger brothers were fascinated by the bay waters they lived over, despite the inauspicious manner in which they took many kids' lives. One day, Crispim and his siblings almost drowned while playing in the water, despite *barracos-palafitas* parents' proscription of swimming. To the kids, however, learning to swim was a life or death matter, and a group of a dozen neighbor kids organized a clandestine group to improve their skills. Crispim and his siblings became very good swimmers, but got kicked out of the *grandes nadadores*, (best swimmers) after nearly blowing the group's cover.

By the mid 1980s, life in Alagados was worsening. A lack of infrastructure, water, electricity, and plumbing made for dangerous and unsanitary conditions, and houses were falling into decay with elements of the sea and the deluges of winter rains. The government stepped in with a US-funded project Amesa that was to turn Alagados into a landfill and relocate residents to new housing. Though the project had good intentions, it led to uncertainty for many residents who did not pay rent or electricity in the *barracos-palafitas* and would have to in the new housing.

Crispim's grandfather, Cachoiera, opposed the relocation and signed a waiver to stay. Of all their neighbors, they were the only ones that did not leave. Jové sought additional work, and Zé left to sell maté tea in Rio de Janeiro. Cachoiera maintained the house and charged the kids with going to school until the unfortunate day in

which their house was “accidentally” wrecked when the landfill crew demolished one of their support beams. Crispim expressed extreme sorrow as a young child, being ripped away from the familiar and moved to new housing in the neighborhood of Uruguai.

Crispim’s new school had few Afro-Brazilian students, and he made friends with a *carioca*<sup>5</sup>/*mestiço*<sup>6</sup> friend who bonded over their attachments to Rio. This friend, José Carlos, (known as Zé) had middle class (“rich and wealthy” to Crispim) friends from *cima*, or the upper city<sup>7</sup>. Through this initial connection, Crispim made three key friends André, Ricardo, and Robson, whose mothers that took him in.

Crispim describes the confusing position he was in as a young child living in two worlds, *cima* and *baixa*, with the two social and racial classes that divided them. His friends from his *baixa* neighborhood often taunted him over his relationship with his *cima* friends. However, Crispim was marked by an innate ability to mediate between the two. Crispim tells a story in which Ricardo’s mom gave him an FM radio, a prized possession by him and his friends in *baixa*, softening their attitude toward his *cima* friends.

Several other pivotal characters in Crispim’s life made an impact early on and affected his path in the future. Crispim looked up to the priest Clóvis of the parish of

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<sup>5</sup> From Rio de Janeiro

<sup>6</sup> Refers to a European-indigenous Brazilian mixing

<sup>7</sup> Salvador is divided into an upper city, *cima*, and lower city, *baixa*, which corresponds, interestingly, with socio-economic status (mid to upper class/working to the poorest class) as well as racial lines (*cima* is whiter, *baixa* is blacker).

São Jorge who subscribed to liberation theology<sup>8</sup>, helping those in Alagados that did not want to be forced from their homes by the government. Clóvis also supported education in the community and when Crispim was living in Uruguai, Clóvis aided him in creating a theater group with his *cima* friends. The leader, Lula, was Rastafarian and the political and social edge to his teachings made a lasting impression on Crispim.

At 15, Crispim's father stopped working in Rio de Janeiro, and Crispim and siblings had to help with family income. Crispim held a variety of jobs, ranging from housekeeping, to working at a grocery store, to becoming a popsicle vendor on the street. Through a friend of his father's in Rio, Crispim landed a cleaning job with a contract company, which first sent him to a bank then later to a naval hospital.

Crispim's work schedule kept him away from most social endeavors, which at this point worked in his favor as his friends from the street were heavily involved in crime and drugs. In his free time, Crispim pursued questions he had in religion, first with the biblical Old Testament and Jehovah's Witnesses. During his lunch break at the hospital he would read passages to patients. Though his Christian faith was not long lasting—partly because of its teachings against the *orixas*<sup>9</sup>, his spiritual childhood and heritage—what it did do was foster a deep interest in history and the

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<sup>8</sup> *Liberation theology* is a term that refers to a movement in the Catholic church in Latin America in the 1960s that opposed oppression of the poor and working class and focused on consciousness raising and human rights (Chasteen 281)

<sup>9</sup> Deities of *candomblé*, the Afro-Brazilian religion prevalent in Bahia. Similar to *santaría*, candomblé has roots in West Africa. It is based in the natural world and has syncretic elements with Catholicism and Islam (Castillo, Lecture 13 June 2012)

Afro-Brazilian experience. Later, he returned to *candomblé* with his parents and sought books on Afro religions and culture.

When Crispim was 17, his father passed away unexpectedly from a heart attack and he had to take on more work, stealing time away from studying in order to survive. When he was finally able to spend time with his friends from *cima*, Crispim reorganized the theater group he had loved so much from before. Older and taking on a fatherly role for his family, Crispim noticed that his younger brother was heading down a potentially bad road with his street friends, a reflection of the problems of poverty, violence, and drugs that his community faced. He gathered stories of rape, death, and assault and wrote a play demonstrating the many situations encountered on the street.

One day, the Bahian TV affiliate of Rede Globo was interviewing people in the neighborhood for a piece on increasing violence. One of the interviewees mentioned Crispim's play, which the local affiliate then broadcast on local and state news. This chance, unexplained, as Crispim puts it, left him with the belief that work and discipline—the process—transformed the kids. Crispim received an invite from the government social department to talk about it, and from there he developed relationships with officials.

At this point, Crispim worked as a baker by day, a youth advocate in the afternoon, and a community theater organizer by night. In 1991, Crispim put on a

presentation about kids who did not receive Christmas presents. The seeds for Bagunção had already been planted in his life's story. Now it was time to sprout.

Crispim met the kids originally involved in what would become Bagunção somewhat accidentally. Crispim often stopped by the home of his elderly neighbor, Dona Teresa, and watched *telenovelas* in the evening. Night after night, a group of kids were making a huge raucous, which was bothering many of the neighbors and Dona Teresa asked him to investigate the din. Before intervening, Crispim watched the group from a distance to gather what they were doing in their play. He discovered that the kids were making noises on trash cans. He compared the racket to *candomblé* drums, observing that it was like a trance for the kids and the space was transformed as if it were a lighted stage overshadowing the poverty surrounding them. He noticed a collective consciousness among the kids as if they were encountering their ancestors and aware of the ecosystem around them. He perceived beats of Africa, Cuba, and Haiti—the diaspora, sounds he had heard from the likes of Filhos de Ghandy, Olodum, and Ilê Aiyê. Instead of breaking up the group and making the noise cease, Crispim was strongly persuaded by his *orixá* Ogum that he was to care and protect the kids. Crispim identified the group's leader, Leilson, and sought Clóvis the priest for a space for the kids to convene and play without bothering the neighbors.

That December, Crispim was able to band together 13 kids despite the chaos. He reshaped his Christmas theater piece into a musical and helped the kids make

their instruments out of repurposed trash cans (*latas*). Crispim was accustomed to dealing with at-risk kids, and despite resistance from some, the group respected Crispim and by the next year had gained acceptance within the neighborhood. They organized themselves as a more formal group with a name. By vote, the group officially landed on the name *Bagunçaço*, meaning “big mess.”

### **Bagunçaço Today**

The rapid development of Bagunçaço after its inception in 1991 was seeped in the life experience and philosophy of its founder Joselito Crispim and the connections he made in his younger years. After its founding, Bagunçaço gained traction quickly within the community. First, they were invited to play with Olodum, one of the most revered Afro-Brazilian music groups in Salvador. They were then invited to be a part of an exchange program in Europe funded by USAID, sending 17 kids and 3 educators on a 45 day exchange program in France, Luxembourg and Belgium. By its first decade, Bagunçaço had a reach of more than 350 kids in Salvador and rural communities in interior Brazil. They also incorporated an experimental online TV exchange with other community groups in Mozambique and Spain.

Bagunçaço’s current projects are all based on the idea that art-education is the key to transforming “an anonymous [person] into the subject of his own story, his community, and his ethnic group” (“Bagunçaço Arte e Educação”). The idea is to



occupy kids' free time with cultural, artistic and academic projects, to help them in evading street and criminal engagement. Bagunção now has a permanent physical campus in Uruguai, a former crack house that they took over and revitalized. They provide music lessons, computer classes, schoolwork tutoring, photography, and a place for the kids to create online TV videos ("Background") In 2011 Globo.com reported that Bagunção had a reach of 212 kids and adults that directly benefited from Bagunção's art and educational outreach, with an additional 848 families and 1800 communities ("Bagunção Arte e Educação"). The group has a full time staff with paid positions that include one coordinator, one social assistant, one teacher, one Web TV professional, one symphony professional, one percussion professor, two homework aides. Funding comes from the Bagunção Foundation, an independent fund set up in 2007 by one of Joselito Crispim's European contacts, Frida Lundquist. The foundation accepts private donations, 100% of which are invested directly to the Bagunção campus in Alagados by a monthly transfer ("Bagunção Foundation").

Bagunção's main project is the school that it operates. The Uruguai campus has a music room, computer classroom, library, cafeteria, outdoor play area, dance room, and art room. Any child under age 18 is permitted to register and attend for free. The only requirement is that they are enrolled in school. Each afternoon, kids follow a structured schedule of classes, homework help, and study through art. The output can be seen on Tvlat.org, self-tagged "Experimental Educational Television,"

a collaborative online creative effort with groups in Europe where kids can share media-based projects such as theater, music, skits, and radio shows. The site allows for blog posts, contact, and pictures (TV Lata). Bagunção also has a sister project in Mozambique called “Instituto Juvenil Bagunção” (Youth Institute Bagunção), which allows the kids in different geographical spaces to connect over the Internet to learn and exchange ideas. At the end of the year, Bagunção puts on Bagunfestlata, a presentation that gives kids a chance to demonstrate to the community what they have learned throughout the year.

### **Significance and Evaluation**

We can see that Bagunção’s projects foster consciousness raising, leadership building, crime aversion and digital inclusion.

#### ***Racial Consciousness and Power***

Bagunção’s music and curriculum is based in Afro-Brazilian history, a component that Hanchard (1998) notes is critical in rising above circumstances of crime and poverty. He contends that activists have a “triple task of articulating the existence of racial oppression, making other black Brazilians aware of the problems inherent in combating racial oppression while providing avenues of resistance” (65). Hanchard quotes a São Paulo church magazine editorial that stated the following:

"Whoever does not understand the links with the past will also not understand the slavery of today, shackling 60 million blacks, and not only blacks but the majority of Brazilian people, condemned to live at the margin of social life due to the arrogance of today's powerful, direct descendants and continuers of the crimes of the men of yesterday" (146).

While Bagunção's immediate goal is to keep kids off the streets and involved in skilled and positive learning, the larger objective is foster racial awareness among the kids so that they rise above the circumstances they were born into.

### ***Generations of Leaders***

Bagunção is also a cyclic organization, with the goal of raising generations of kids that become the next crop of leaders within the community. I saw this in my day spent at the Bagunção campus. The older kids helped the younger kids with music, reading, and studying and the group's adult leaders had all been involved with Bagunção as kids. Crispim parallels this with the system of *candomblé*: "Like the system of *terreiros*, a son of *santo* would be emancipated to create his or her own *terreiro* like a beehive continuing the cycle" (translation mine).

### ***Aversion from Crime***

In 1999, film director Sylvia Johnson came across Bagunçação during a study abroad program, and six years later was awarded a Fulbright grant to document their struggle in a 23-minute film *Alagados* (“The Story”). Johnson notes that the majority of youth from this neighborhood that do not get involved in an NGO or alternative education activity will fall prey to the streets: the boys will most likely become involved in crime and violence, and the girls in prostitution (“Background”). It is a bitter consequence of the cycle of poverty so prevalent in many of Salvador’s poor communities, and it is groups like Bagunçação that not only empower kids on a consciousness level, but on a practical level as well by filling their free hours of the day with productive, inspiring, non-criminal activities.

### ***Opportunity and Digital Inclusion***

The kids that live in the Bagunçação neighborhood and take part in the project are already faced with poverty, violence, lack of infrastructure, limited access to health care and nutrition, and a limit to solid, consistent education. Bagunçação’s classes and projects, particularly those that are media-related, exponentially increase their career and academic opportunities.

While in Salvador summer 2012 I had the chance to work with a high-school Afro-centric institute called Steve Biko. There I learned why academic reinforcement and digital inclusion and is so particularly important for Afro-Brazilians, beyond the scholarly aspect. Public schools in Brazil are free, but are not

always of high quality. Those who have enough money pay for their kids to go to private school through high school do so. University is reverse, however, with private colleges being of lower quality. The public university is 100% subsidized by the state and is of very high caliber. However, it is extremely difficult to get in to the federal university as it is fiercely competitive and one must pass an exceptionally difficult entrance exam. The cycle of poverty and crime that exists within the black community already puts them at a disadvantage, and college is beyond feasibility for most, contributing to the unbalanced representation of Brazilians not only within the public university system but also in positions of power (business, political, academia, etc.). Bagunção provides a space for kids to gain creative and useful digital skills that could lead to university education and inclusion in important and significant roles of representation in Brazil.

## **Conclusion**

This report gives us a contextual view of the community group Bagunção chronicling its inception, development, and role in Salvador, Brazil. On an individual level, Bagunção serves to mitigate crime and violence among youth, providing kids with skill-building music, art, and technology activities to engage in during free time. Bagunção also serves a spiritual need of Afro-Brazilians by empowering kids with the context of their situation as part of a diasporic community that can resist oppression and gain upward social traction in a society permeated by historic racial

hierarchy. Finally, Bagunção transcends national lines with its international partnerships and engages in a digital exchange that is not only technology skill building, but an expansion of kids' perspectives of the world beyond the poor communities that many of them would otherwise only ever know.

## APPENDIX A

### Semi-Structured Interview Questions (English)

Initial Question	Follow Up Questions
<p><b>Projects &amp; Organization</b></p> <p>What are your current music-related projects?</p> <p>What are your current community-related projects?</p> <p>Approximately how many staff, volunteers, and participants comprise your group?</p> <p>How does one take part in the group?</p> <p>Who decides what community projects are focused on?</p>	<p>Educational programs? Language training? Music workshops? Music competitions? Concerts and events?</p> <p>Is it free to join the group? What are the age or gender requirements?</p> <p>Do staff members initiate new projects? Do community members give input on potential new projects?</p>
<p><b>Media</b></p> <p>Do you emphasize computers or Internet in the day-to-day activities of the group?</p> <p>When using the computer for work, what are your primary activities?</p> <p>Is Internet access provided on site for volunteers or participants?</p> <p>When not on site, do you think participants use public access Internet, such as LAN houses?</p> <p>How do you get the word out about your projects?</p> <p>How do participants correspond with you? With each other?</p>	<p>Do you provide computer training for management? For volunteers or participants?</p> <p>Do you use any social networking sites? Who designs and updates your Web site?</p> <p>If not, where do they access Internet? LAN houses? Other form of public access?</p> <p>Do you correspond with mostly via email, by phone, or in person?</p> <p>Do you use other forms of media, such as fliers, posters, news articles, radio ads?</p>

<p><b>Resources</b></p> <p>What are your primary economic needs?</p> <p>How do you gain funding for your projects?</p> <p>How is this accomplished?</p>	<p>Salary? Infrastructure? Musical equipment? Advertising? Community projects?</p> <p>Members? The city? Performances? Foundations? Corporate partners?</p> <p>Meetings with potential donors? Internet correspondence? Phone calls? Travel for meetings? Video conferences?</p>
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## APPENDIX B

### Semi-Structured Interview Questions (Portuguese)

#### Entrevista Semi-Estruturada

Pergunta Inicial	Perguntas da continuação
<b>Projetos e Organização</b>  Quais são os seus projetos atuais de música-relacionada?  Quais são os seus projetos atuais de comunidade-relacionada?  Aproximadamente, quantos funcionários, voluntários e participantes tem o seu grupo?  Como é que as pessoas participam no grupo?  Quem decide o foco dos projetos comunitários?	Programas educativos? Formação linguística? Oficinas de música? Competições de música? Concertos e eventos?          A adesão ao grupo é gratuita? Quais são os requisitos de idade e género?          Os membros da equipa podem iniciar um novo projeto? Os membros da comunidade podem dar sugestões em eventuais novos projetos?
<b>Mídia</b>  Você incentiva/enfatiza o uso de computadores ou o acesso à Internet nas atividades do dia-a-dia do grupo?  Quando você usa o computador para trabalhar, quais são as suas primeiras atividades?  O acesso local à Internet é fornecido por voluntários ou por participantes?	Você fornece treino de computador para a gerência? Para voluntários ou participantes?  Você usa as redes sociais? Quem projeta e actualiza o seu Web site?          Se não for o caso, onde é que você acede à Internet? LAN house? Outra forma de acesso público?

<p>Quando não no local, você acha que os participantes usam a Internet de acesso público, por exemplo, LAN house?</p> <p>Como você anuncia os seus projetos?</p> <p>Como é que os participantes comunicam com você? Entre eles?</p>	<p>Você comunica maioritariamente através do email, telefone, ou pessoalmente?</p> <p>Você usa outros meios de comunicação, tais como panfletos, posters, artigos em jornais, anúncios de rádio?</p>
<p><b>Recursos</b></p> <p>Quais são as suas necessidades econômicas de base (primeira necessidade)?</p> <p>Como você financia os seus projetos?</p> <p>Como isso é feito/ realizado?</p>	<p>Salário? Infra-estrutura? Equipamento musical? Anúncios? Projetos comunitários?</p> <p>Membros? A cidade? Desempenhos? Fundações? Parceiros empresariais?</p> <p>Reuniões com potenciais doadores? Correspondência via Internet? Telefonemas? Viagens para reuniões? Vídeo-conferência?</p>

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## **VITA**

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A lover of music, language, and travel Ashley Blake is a West Coast native and graduated from Oregon State University in 2006 with a BS in New Media Communications and a BA in International Studies, with minors in Spanish and Music and spent study abroad time in Spain and Costa Rica. Ashley then worked in concert production and in the international travel industry where she directed tours to events including festivals in Europe and the Beijing and Vancouver Olympics. Ashley moved to Austin in 2008 and fell in love city's active, upbeat lifestyle and admired the vibrancy UT contributes to the area. She started her RTF studies fall 2011 and is interested in media and development, identity studies, alternative media, social entrepreneurship, and international developmental studies. Ashley spent summer 2012 in Salvador, Brazil to study Portuguese and pursue research on her Masters project on music for development, with completion December 2012.

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This report was typed by Ashley Lauren Blake.